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## JUNE MEETING, 1904.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at half-past twelve o'clock, P. M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved, and the regular monthly reports were presented.

Professor Adolf Harnack, of Berlin, was elected an Honorary Member; and Mr. Charles H. Dalton, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member.

*Voted*, That the stated meetings for July, August, and September be omitted, the President and Corresponding Secretary to have power to call a special meeting if necessary.

Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE said:—

The Society would be interested in knowing what effort had been made in Washington for the preservation of the frigate "Constitution." He was sorry to say that nothing definite had been done. It was impossible for him to say what had passed in committee rooms, but his impression was that the enthusiasm of the Committeees had to be quickened by our Massachusetts Representatives. The Society's Memorial was presented by Senator Hoar on the 29th of January, 1904. It was printed in the Congressional Record for that day.

On the 16th day of March Mr. McNary, the member of the House for the Northern Boston District, introduced a bill which provides for the preservation of the "Constitution" at Castle Island as a museum. This was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs. But they made no report on this subject in the session, which was an unusually short one.

The Navy Department was not very favorable to our wish. It was stated there that the restoration of the "Constitution" would require virtually the building of a new ship. And it is a sad thing to say that with the advance of the century it costs a great deal more to build a wooden ship than it cost when the "Constitution" was built and launched at Hart's Wharf.

The naval gentlemen however supposed that for a less sum

she could be put into such repair as would keep her afloat in the harbor of Boston. The suggestion was made to the Committee to appropriate a sufficient sum in the Naval Appropriation Bill for that purpose.

It is but justice to the classical attainments of the House and Senate and of the Navy Department to say that everybody seemed to remember Plato's celebrated remark regarding the preservation of the *Idea* of the "Minotaur," although every bolt and even every splinter of the original vessel were gone. One of our admirals told Dr. Hale that when he himself was a midshipman one of the jests of the young gentlemen at Annapolis was the annual dance around a particular bolt which tradition said was in the ship the day she fought "La Guerrière." But it was suggested in the Navy that at the present moment there is neither chip nor bolt remaining in the vessel which witnessed the celebrated battle.

Dr. Hale congratulated the Society, and all persons interested in American history, on what might almost be called the creation of a Manuscript Department in the Congressional Library. He read some passages from letters of Mr. Putnam, and from our associate Mr. Worthington Ford on the progress which has been made, especially in the department of American History.

From times almost traditional each department at Washington has kept the custody of its own papers. Sometimes, when an officer was retained in a department for fifty years, he lived into a feeling that the documents were his own and that no one else could examine them. More often, perhaps, in the frequent changes of administration, nobody really knew what was among the papers, or indeed where they were. A certain convenient superstition existed, which led the junior clerks to say that they believed this or that document was destroyed "when the British burned Washington." Dr. Hale expressed his belief that no important documents in either department were destroyed at that time. Other gentlemen present confirmed this impression.

One of our members who is not able to be present gave to Dr. Hale the following memoranda which state precisely the advantages of the present new arrangement of these national documents: —

We, who know the value of manuscripts, have been obliged again and again to recognize the utter hopelessness of awakening in an officially constituted mind any enthusiasm on the subject. The Departments are full of the richest material buried beyond the reach of the public, merely because some nine-hundred-dollar clerk has been in charge for half a century and has come to look upon them as private property. We now have a Librarian who knows that this material is good historical material, that it belongs to the public and should be open to the public, and is willing to make an effort and even sacrifices to secure supplementary material from private collections. One who has worked under him cannot but feel this influence for good, and something ought to be said of it in any account of the manuscript materials of the Library as they now are, and as they are sure to be in the near future,—the one great mine of history to be worked by the increasing number of serious students of history.

The memoranda from Washington show that since 1900, when the new arrangements of Mr. Putnam began, the collections have been large in number and important in character. The Letter-books of Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance in the Revolution, were purchased in 1901. They comprise his Diary, the Letter-books of the Department of Finance from 1781 to 1784, and his private Letter-books from 1784 to 1798. The entire collection comprises fifteen folio volumes, and contains transcripts of more than eight thousand letters. One of the members of this Society contributed to the collections of the Library a famous manuscript, being no less than a Columbus Codex, or a transcript of the documents and agreements on which Columbus made his fourth voyage to America.

In the next year, 1902, were obtained the papers of Salmon Portland Chase, a collection well known to the members of this Society. The more valuable of these papers have since been published by the American Historical Society, and certainly constitute a positive addition to the history of the late Civil War. The Barry and Porter naval papers were supplemented, in 1903, by the papers of Commodore Edward Preble in twelve volumes. It has been stated that a number of the Preble papers are in the collections of this Society, but

a recent inquiry brings the information that they cannot be found.

The year 1903 was of sufficient moment in the experience of the Manuscripts Division to warrant extended notice. It was marked by a notable gift by the members of the family of Montgomery Blair, comprising the collection of papers and manuscripts, official and personal, of Andrew Jackson,—a collection that is especially rich on the military history of the Middle West during the Indian incursions, the War of 1812 and the subsequent events which led up to the Seminole campaign,—a campaign which threatened to be the unmaking of Jackson and yet, in the end, proved a very strong plea for making him President. In its later features the collection is very full on such matters as the differences in Jackson's Cabinet over social troubles, and the Removal of the Deposits. It also pictures Jackson in retirement, when he played so effectively the part of the political seer, resorted to by all who harbored political ambitions, for endorsement, or a word of warning and advice. The collection is a very large one, and has yet to be carefully studied to develop its historical wealth, covering a period of interest in national administration during which partisan feeling ran so high that it is still a question whether Jackson's influence and action was, on the whole, wholesome or otherwise.

A large collection of Daniel Webster's papers was obtained by purchase, being those which were selected by the biographer of Webster, and therefore representing a very choice collection. A third series of collections came by the transfer of certain historical collections from the Department of State. These collections have long been known to historical students, and were obtained at various times by purchase, or deposit in the Department of State because there was no other place quite so suitable for their preservation. A mere list of the collections will show their worth, for there are included the papers of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Hamilton, and Franklin; but, chief of all, the papers of the Continental Congress. The President's strong interest in historical matters induced him to issue an executive order transferring these documents after consultation with the officials of the Department of State. It seemed to be generally recognized that the Library of Congress should be the keeper of such collections,

where the historical interest is so much greater than any administrative features which might attach to the papers. A foundation is thus laid for making the Library what it should be, the great centre of historical research and the great depository of historical manuscripts.

In the last year the collections have grown with almost accelerated pace. The papers of Martin Van Buren came by gift, as did those of Chancellor Kent. The papers of James K. Polk were purchased, as were those of John M. Clayton. A little consideration will thus show how strong the collections of the Library of Congress are in certain directions. For the military and civil history of the Revolution no other records can begin to compare with them in important documents; for they begin with the petition to the king and "the association" entered into by the Continental Congress of 1774, and carry the record through the doings of the subsequent Congresses, the campaign of Washington, the period of the Confederation, and the formation and acceptance of the Constitution. Of what might be called the Virginia régime, the collection is unrivalled; for it includes the papers of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, the four Presidents given to the country by Virginia, the mother of Presidents. A break is then made covering the administration of John Quincy Adams, but the story is again taken up by the papers of the inheritors of the Virginia doctrines, Jackson, Van Buren, and Polk.

I have named only the larger collections. There are many smaller collections of high interest in themselves and supplementing those I have specifically named. There is hardly a period of American history on which something cannot be found that is essential to its comprehension. One reason for this rapid growth of the Manuscript collection is to be found in the notable precautions taken for the preservation of the papers. A large gallery of the Library has been specially equipped with glass cases and steel safes, which are under watch by night as well as by day. The treatment given to manuscripts is also peculiar. It involves the repair of every injury of the past and every precaution against injury in the future. Paper that is so rotten as to fall to pieces at the touch is covered with fine cloths which make it stronger than the original paper could be. Every hole is filled, and the requirements of each document are specially studied so as to

place it beyond danger of injury. When they are thus repaired they are mounted on linen hinges and substantially bound, after which they are made accessible to the public. A visit to the Manuscripts Division is an object lesson in the handling of manuscript material; for no other institution devotes so much time and expense to such matters.

To illustrate the broad principles recognized in the conduct of the Library of Congress I may mention an incident which has not become generally known. In the Library was a manuscript containing the only known record of the conventions held in the first years of the Revolution in the territory which afterwards became the State of Vermont. This record had been transcribed, perhaps for his personal use, by the clerk of the convention, Dr. Jonas Fay, and was retained by him among his private effects. The book in which the transcription was made was used by him as a record of his medical fees during his lifetime, and after his death continued in the family to be used for various purposes, such as a scrap book, and a record of farm accounts. It is very well known by all investigators that through carelessness or worse faults many of the records properly State and local have passed into private collections. There is hardly a State which has not suffered by loss and depredation, and frequently records that are vital to the understanding of local history have become located in places where they are as good as buried, and in fact the very memory of their existence has passed away. The convention records of Vermont were so essential to the history of Vermont that although this particular manuscript had never been State property or in the keeping of any officer of the State, the authorities of the Library believed that it should properly be located in Vermont rather than in the Library of Congress. On the suggestion of the State authorities a resolution making the transfer passed both houses of Congress, and the transfer was made. Of course there are limits to such policy. The liberal policy thus indicated by the Library of Congress might well be imitated by other institutions, and we may look forward to the time when the investigator may be reasonably certain to find in a particular place the manuscript material which properly belongs there. So much more attention is now paid to the preservation of such material, and the historical value is so much better appreciated now than it was

even a generation ago that we cannot do better than to gather up what remains and place it in a position where it will be most accessible to students and most useful in the performance of functions which belong to manuscript material.

It will be well if in the future the policy can be accepted which shall make the Library of Congress the keeper of the manuscript archives of the government, so far as their interest is mainly historical. Such is the present policy as initiated so fortunately by Dr. Putnam.

In Dr. Putnam's reports for 1901 at page 335, for 1902 at pages 24 and 71, for 1903 at pages 18 and 77, are given very valuable details of the accessions made in these years.

It ought to be said that all the regular publications of library reports are very valuable to all students of history.

Rev. Dr. JAMES DE NORMANDIE read a paper entitled "Some Notes from an Old Parish Record Book," as follows:—

The early ministers of the plantations hereabout, as the first settlements were called, regarded themselves as self-appointed chroniclers of whatever took place in their far-reaching but sparsely inhabited parishes. If a house was burned or struck by lightning, or a great storm came, or any portent in the heavens, or an accident befell a settler, or an epidemic appeared, or a heresy arose, or a ship arrived or departed; if there was an exceptional season,—as once it is said "not a flake of snow fell this winter,"—if there was an abundant harvest or a threatened famine, the minister made a note of it in the parish records, and frequently he was the only one to preserve it.

The toils and privations of establishing these new homes, of building the initials of a nation, mark almost every page; but there are notes, too, of the wonderful provision which the forests and the waters had for the new-comers, of which a writer in 1639 says:—

"Lobsters be plenty of 20 lb weight."

"A wild Turkey-Cock is 4 s and weighs 40 lbs—he that is a good husband & will be stirring betimes may take half a dozen in a morning."

"Bass 4 foot long, some bigger, some lesser—a man may catch a dozen or twenty of these in three hours of the tide."

"Pigeons by millions joining nest to nest, and tree to tree—so that the sun never sees the ground."

The minister picks up interesting local knowledge as he goes on his daily round of visits — for the future historian.

There was a special reason, in the theology of the day, for the minister to make these records; for the Puritan clergy saw God in all things, as did the Hebrew of old, — everything that was favorable to him was a providence, and everything that hindered him was a judgment. The Puritan's conception of the church was another reason for many of the records he made. The church was a company of Christians under the government of God. Each congregation was to mark the separation of the faithful from the sinners; it consisted of believers, of visible saints, and its object was to maintain a high standard of purity and holiness among its members. Each congregation was a unit, to determine its own rules of faith and life. "The Kingdom of God," said the Puritan Robert Browne, "was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest, were they never so few."

When the Independent divines put forth their "Declaration," its preface says:—

"From the first, every, or at least the generality of our churches, have been in a manner like so many ships (though holding forth the same general colours) lanct singly and sailing apart and alone in the Vast Ocean of these tumultuating times, and exposed to every wind of Doctrine, under no other conduct than the Word and the Spirit, and their particular Elders and principal Brethren, without association among ourselves, or so much as holding out common lights to others, whereby to know where we are."

No church, or union of churches, had any right or power to interfere with the faith or discipline of any other church; so it had to be a jealous custodian of the conduct of its own members. There was no disposition to gloss over the faults of any one, man or woman, who having once taken hold of the covenant had fallen from grace; so the minister was quite ready to put down in black and white, to all generations, so long as the record could be read, the spiritual estimates of his flock as well as the outward providences and judgments of God.

Among all these early books no one is more interesting than that of the Apostle Eliot, — no one better preserved, more complete, or more constantly sought after for examination.

But we keep it carefully sealed and hidden from the antiquarian or historian ; for while I have great faith in human nature, there are individuals who cannot be implicitly trusted, and many a man or woman, well connected and well descended, finds the sense of honor grow weak when an opportunity comes to cut out slyly the autograph of the Apostle Eliot, or one of the Dudleys, or Warren's, or of some ancestor busy and prominent in the task of founding this new world.

These records are so interesting because the man is the most interesting figure in the early history of New England. There is a flavor of godliness about them because the man was full of it. Whenever any marked event happened, he would say, "Brethren, let us turn all this into a prayer." In homes where he was a familiar and welcome guest he would say, "Come, let us not have a visit without prayer; let us pray down the blessing of heaven on your family before we go." He was not afraid to warn his people of any appearance of worldliness. Finding a merchant in his store with some books of business on his table and some books of devotion on a shelf, he said, "Sir, here is earth on the table and heaven on the shelf; pray, don't sit so much at the table as altogether to forget the shelf; let not earth by any means thrust heaven out of your mind." Mather says he heard him utter these words from that scripture "Our conversation is in heaven": "In the morning if we ask where am I to be to-day, our souls must answer 'in heaven.' In the evening if we ask where have I been to-day, our souls may answer 'in heaven.' If thou art a believer, thou art no stranger to heaven while thou livest, and when thou diest heaven will be no stranger to thee, no, for thou hast been there a thousand times before."

Then his interest in education never faltered, so that he labored and prayed for a good school in every plantation. When all the neighboring churches were gathered in Boston to consider how the miscarriages which were increasing might be prevented, Eliot exclaimed with great fervor: "Lord, that our schools may flourish; that before we die we may be so happy as to see a good school encouraged in every plantation in this country." "God so blessed his endeavors," says Mather, "that Roxbury could not live quietly without a free school in the town, and the issue of it has been one thing, which has made one almost put the title of *schola illustris* upon that little

nursery, that is, that Roxbury has afforded more scholars first for the College, and then for the public than any town of its bigness or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness in all New England. From the spring of the school at Roxbury there have run a large number of the streams which have made glad this whole city of God." It was the grammar school after its prototype of Eton and Rugby.

Then came his enthusiastic, increasing efforts among the Indians, which alone were enough for the work of a long busy life, and which put him at the very head of all those who have labored in this cause, simply because he believed that the Indian was the child of God and to him the gospel should be preached.

The Records of the Apostle Eliot begin with a receipt for making ink. He wanted what he had to say about his parishioners to stand the test of time; and after two hundred and fifty years these are clearer and brighter than most of our writings after twenty-five or fifty years. The agreement about our old Latin School in August, 1645, is black, shining, glistening, beautifully written on parchment with here and there some fine German capitals.

You read between these lines no formal piety; only the deep, joyous, uninterrupted, bubbling-over life of the spirit. What tender yearnings of the godly man over his flock come out in such expressions as these:—

"When six young men did all publickly & by their owne consent and desire, take hold on the covenant waiting for more grace."

"Old Mother Roote, who lived not only till past use, but till more tedious than a child."

"The wife of William Webb. She followed baking, & through her covetous mind she made light weight, after many admonitions, flatly denying that after she had weighed her dough she never rimmed off bits from each loaf, which yet four witnesses testified to be a common if not a practis, for all which grosse sins she was excommunicated. But afterwards she was reconciled to the church, & lived Christianly & dyed comfortably."

"Bro. Griggs, who lay in a long affliction of sickness, & shined like gold in it."

"Sister Ruggles—She was a meek & godly Christian, much lamented by her neighbors; but her very disorders were sanctified, & so she finished."

"The Church take notice of six who humbled themselves by public confession in the church; & we have cause to hope that the full proceedings of discipline will doe more good than theire sin hath done hurt."

"There was Mrs. Barker whom we found not so well acquainted with her own heart, & the ways & workings of God's spirit in converting a sinner unto God — & yet full of sweet affection, & we feared a little too confident, we received her not without feares & jealousies."

"Mr. George Alcock — he lived in a good & godly sort, & left a good savor behind him."

"Valentine Prentice — he lived a godly life, & dyed leaving a good savor of godlyness behind him."

"The wife of W<sup>m</sup> Talmadge. She was a grave matron and a godly woman — she dyed & left a gracious savor behind her."

"William Hills — he removed to Hartford in Conecticott, where he lived several years without giving such good satisfaction to the consciences of the saints."

"Two brothers Edward & George Dennison, who had been proved incendiaries of some troubles among us, & full of distemper & disaffection; the Lord left them to open & shameful drunkenness at Boston; especially Edward, which did so greatly humble them both that though George (being a member) was excommunicated, yet in a short time was taken in again. And Edward humbling himselfe so effectually that he also was speedyly received into the Church — this is the triumph of grace, to magnify Grace by sinne."

"1677 Month 2, about the 10<sup>th</sup> Boston was much endangered by a chimney going on fire in a very windy day — but the Lord did succeed the indeavours of men so that it was quenched. About the middle of this month a blazing star appeared in the East."

"This day we restored our primitive practise for the training up our youth. First, our male youth, in fitting season, stay every sabbath after the evening service in the Public meeting house, where the Elders will examine their remembrance yt day, & any fit poynt of catechise. Secondly yt our female youth should meet in one place, where the Elders may examine them of theire remembrance yesterday, & about catechise, or what else may be convenient."

"John Moody had two menservants that were ungodly, especially one of them; who in his passion would wish himself in hell, & use desperate words; yet had a good measure of knowledge. These 2 servants would go to the oyster bank, & did against the counsell of their governor, where they lay all night; & in the morning early when the tide was out they gathering oysters, did unskillfully leaye their boate afloat, & the tide quickly carried it away, which made them cry & hollow, till water had risen to the armlevls as its thought, & then a man from

Rocksborough Meeting-house hill, heard them cry and call, & he cryed & ran & hastened to them, but they were both drowned — a dreadfull example of God's displeasure against obstinat servants."

" Mary Dumer she was a godly woman, but by seduction of some of her acquaintances she was led away into the new opinions of M<sup>ris</sup> Hutchinson's time. Mr. Clark one of the same opinions, unskillfully gave her a vomit, yt she dyed in a most uncomfortable manner. But we believe God took her away in mercy from worse evil which she was falling into, & we doubt not but she is gone to heaven."

" So soone as we condescended to improve our praying Indians in the war, from that day forward we always prospered until God pleased to teare the rod in peeces, partly by conquest, partly by their sicknesse & death, & hath brought us peace praised be his name. But no sooner was this rod broken, presently the North-Eastern wars broke forth.

" God also drew forth another rod upon our backs in epidemical sickness which took away many from us. And yet for all this it is the frequent complaint of many wise and godly that little reformation is to be seene of our chief wrath-provoking sins as pride, covetousnesse, animosity, personal neglect of gospelyzing our youth & of gospelizing of the Indians. Drinking houses multiplyed, not lessened, Quakers openly tolerated."

The Puritans had hardly escaped from their persecutions when they turned all their wrath against the Homilists, the adherents of Ann Hutchinson, the Quakers, and the Baptists.

John Wilson vociferated from his pulpit, " he would carry fire in one hand & faggots in the other to burn all the Quakers in the world," and John Higginson " denounced the inner light, as a stinking vapour from hell."

It is astonishing, too, what a bitter animosity reigned against the Baptists, the Anabaptists,— or Rebaptisers as they were called because the rite of baptism was administered to those who joined the new society. They arose in the religious ferment of the sixteenth century,— the Radicals of the Reformation, claiming the Apostolical Succession of the Holy Spirit. Some were most devout and godly, some were noisy and fanatical, but everywhere great horror was excited against them; but, as in so many instances in history, they flourished in persecution and faded in prosperity. Samuel Willard, President of Harvard College, declared: " Such a rough thing as a New England Baptist is not to be handled over-tenderly."

In many of our early records, if a season of scarcity prevailed, or an earthquake visited the settlement, or a great storm, or a disastrous fire, or an outbreak of the Indians, or a time of unusual disease, or a succession of calamities, it was all ascribed to the activity and prosperity of the Baptists.

"Henry Bull lived honestly for a good season but on the suddaine (being weake and affectionate) he was taken and transported with the opinion of familisme [a sect which arose in Holland in the sixteenth century which would take the whole race into one Family of Love] and running in that sisyme he fell into many and grosse sins of lying &c. — for which he was excommunicate."

"Philip Sherman was of a melancholy temperament, but lived honestly & comfortably among us severall years. Upon a just calling went to England & returned again with a blessing. But after his father-in-law, John Porter was so carried away with these opinions, he followed them & removed with them to the island — he behaved himself sinfully & was cast out of the Church."

"William Chase, he came with the first company 1630. He brought one child his son William, a child of ill-quality, & a sore affliction to his parents."

"Mary Chase the wife of William Chase, she had a paralitik humor which fell upon her backbone, so that she could not stir her body but as she was lifted, & filled her with great torture, & caused her backbone to go out of joyst & bunch out from the beginning to the end, of which infirmity she lay 4 years & a halfe, & a great part of the time a sad spectacle of misery — but it pleased God to raise her again — & she bore children."

Rev. Dr. George Ellis, coming upon this record of the Apostle Eliot, wrote to Dr. Holmes for a diagnosis of the case according to the latest scientific and medical knowledge, and received the following most characteristic reply:—

No. 296 BEACON ST., June 3, 1881.

MY DEAR DR. ELLIS,—A consultation without seeing the patient is like a murder trial without the corpus delicti being in evidence. You remember the story of Jeremiah Mason, and the witness who had had a vision in which the Angel Gabriel informed him of some important facts: 'Subpoena the Angel Gabriel.' So I should say, carry us to the bedside of Mary Chase; but she has been under green bed-clothes so long that I am afraid that she would be hard to wake up. We must

guess as well as we can under the circumstances. The question is whether she had angular curvature, lateral curvature, or no curvature at all. If the first, angular curvature, you must consult such authorities as Bryant, Dewitt and the rest. If you are not satisfied with these modern writers, all I have to say is, as I have said before when asked whom to consult in such cases, "Go to Pott," to Percival Pott, the famous surgeon of the last century, from whom this affection has received the name by which it is still known, of "Pott's Disease,"—for if a doctor has the luck to find out a new malady it is tied to his name like a tin-kettle to a dog's tail, and he goes clattering down the highway of fame to posterity with his æolian attachment following at his heels. As for the lateral curvature, if that had existed, it seems as if the Apostle Eliot would have said she bulged sideways, or something like that, instead of saying the backbone bunched out from beginning to end. Besides I doubt if lateral curvature is apt to cause paralysis. Crooked backs are everywhere as tailors and dressmakers know, and nobody expects to be palsied because one shoulder is higher than the other—as Alexander the Great's was, and Alexander Pope's also.

I doubt whether Mary Chase had any real curvature at all. Her case looks to me like one of those *mimoses*, as Marshall Hall called certain forms of hysteria which imitate different diseases, among the rest paralysis. The body of a hysterical patient will take on the look of all sorts of more serious affections. As for mental and moral manifestations, a hysterical girl will lie so that Sapphira would blush for her, and she could give lessons to a professional pickpocket in the art of stealing. Hysteria might be described as possession, possession by seven devils, except that this number is quite insufficient to account for all the pranks played by the subjects of this extraordinary malady.

I do not want to say anything against Mary Chase, but I suspect that, getting nervous and tired and hysterical, she got into bed, which she found rather agreeable after too much housework, and perhaps too much going to meeting; liked it better and better, curled herself up into a bunch which made her look as if her back was really distorted, found she was cosseted and posseted and prayed over and made much of, and so lay quiet, until a false paralysis caught hold of her legs and held her there. If some one had "hollered" "Fire," it is not unlikely that she would have jumped out of bed as many other such paralytics have done under such circumstances. She could have moved, probably enough, if any one could have made her believe that she had the power of doing it. *Possumus quia posse videmus.* She had played possum so long that at last it became *non possum*.

Yours very truly,

O. W. HOLMES, M.D.

Hon. James M. Barker was appointed to write the memoir of the late Paul A. Chadbourne, which was originally assigned to the late Rev. Dr. Egbert C. Smyth.

Mr. Charles C. Smith communicated by title for Mr. WOR-THINGTON C. FORD, a Corresponding Member, "Some Notes by Alexander Hamilton of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787." Mr. Smith also communicated for Mr. JAMES F. RHODES, who was unavoidably absent, the memoir of the late Edward L. Pierce, which Mr. Rhodes had been appointed to write for the Proceedings.

*Alexander Hamilton's Notes on the Federal Convention of 1787.*

The following notes of debates in the Federal Convention were taken by Alexander Hamilton, and are contained on a few undated sheets of paper among the Hamilton Papers in the Library of Congress. I was of the opinion that they might have been notes for the Federalist essays, taken from Madison's records; but a more careful examination showed that they were independent memoranda, and often adding a little to what Madison wrote down in his capacity of self-appointed reporter. To show the connection I have drawn off the corresponding sentences in the Madison notes, using the excellent edition of Mr. Gaillard Hunt, which in thoroughness and accuracy is much in advance of any previous issue. There is enough of original matter in the Hamilton notes to justify the publication. They show the bent of his mind, and the difference between the mental tastes of Madison and himself, demonstrating why Madison was so much the better reporter of debates. But a further point is made: the notes made by Paterson have just been printed, and it is known that Jackson, the secretary to the convention, made copious notes. May it not be conjectured that other members followed the course of Madison, Yates, King, Paterson, Jackson, and Hamilton, and that we have not yet exhausted the material in existence on this most interesting convention. Professors Jameson and McLaughlin have shown what can be done towards illustrating the documentary history of that assemblage, and in the same spirit I offer these notes of Hamilton.

June 1, 1787.

HAMILTON.

MADISON.

The way to prevent a majority from having an interest to oppress the minority is to enlarge the sphere.

Madison. Elective Monarchies turbulent and unhappy.

[Madison. If [Executive Power] large, we shall have the Evils of Elective Monarchies. Rufus King, I, 588.]

Men unwilling to admit so decided a superiority of merit in an individual as to accede to his appointment to so preëminent a station.

If several are admitted as there will be many competitors of equal merit they may be all included — contention prevented — & the republican genius consulted.

Randolph. I. Situation of this country peculiar.

II. Taught the people an aversion to Monarchy.

III. All their constitutions opposed to it.

IV. Fixed character of the people opposed to it.

V. If proposed will prevent a fair discussion of the plan.

VI. Why cannot three execute? View (or voice) of America. Safety to liberty the next object.

Great exertions only requisite on particular occasions.

Legislature may appoint a dictator when necessary.

Seeds of destruction — slaves — [*former continental army* struck out] might be safely enlisted.

May appoint men devoted to them — & even bribe the legislature by offices.

Chief Magistrate must be free from impeachment.

Wilson. Extent — manners.

Confederated republic unites advantages & banishes disadvantages of other kinds of governments.

rendering the executive ineligible an infringement of the right of election.

Bedford. peculiar talents requisite for *execution*, therefore ought to be opportunity of ascertaining his talents — therefore frequent change.

Mr. Bedford was strongly opposed to so long a term as seven years. He begged the Committee to consider what the situation of the Country would be, in case the first magistrate should be saddled on it for such a period and it should be found on trial that he did not possess the qualifications ascribed to him, or should lose them after his appointment. Madison, III, 63—4.

Princ. 1. The further men are from the ultimate point of importance the readier they will be [to] concur in a change.

2. Civilization approximates the different species of governments.

3. Vigour is the result of several principles. activity wisdom — confidence.

4. Extent of limits will occasion the non attendance of remote members & tend to throw the government into the hands of the Country near the seat of government — a reason for strengthening the upper branch & multiplying the Inducements to attendance.

June 6, 1787.

PRINCIPLES.

I. Human mind fond of Compromise.

Maddisons Theory

Two principles upon which republics ought to be constructed.

I. That they have such extent as to render combinations on the ground of Interest difficult.

II. By a process of election calculated to refine the representation of the People.

Answer. There is truth in both these principles but they do not conclude so strongly as he supposes.

The Assembly when chosen will meet in one room if they are drawn from half the globe — & will be liable to all the passions of popular assemblies.

If more *minute links* are wanting others will supply them. Distinctions of Eastern middle and Southern states will come into view; between commercial and non commercial States. Imaginary lines will influence, &c. Human mind prone to limit its view by near and local objects.

Paper money is capable of giving a general impulse. It is easy to conceive a popular sentiment pervading the E. States.

Observ. large districts less liable to be influenced by factious demagogues than small.

Note. This is in some degree true but not so generally as may be supposed. Frequently small portions of the large districts carry elections. An influential demagogue will give an impulse to

the whole. Demagogues are not always *inconsiderable* persons. Patricians were frequently demagogues. Characters are less known & a less active interest taken in them.

A free government to be preferred to an absolute monarchy not because of the occasional violations of *liberty* or *property*, but because of the tendency of the Free Government to interest the passions of the community in its favour, beget public spirit and public confidence.

Re. When public mind is prepared to adopt the present plan they will outgo our proposition. They will never part with Sovereignty of the state till they are tired (?) of the state governments.

M<sup>r</sup> Pinkney. If Legislatures do not partake in the appointment of, they will be more jealous.

Pinckney. Elections by the State legislatures will be better than those by the people.

Principle. Danger that the Executive by too frequent communication with the judicial may corrupt it. They may learn to enter into his passions.

Note. At the period which terminates the duration of the Executive, there will be always an awful crisis—in the national situation.

Note. The arguments to prove that a negative would not be used would go so far as to prove that

The State Legislatures also he said would be more jealous, & more ready to thwart the National Gov<sup>t</sup>, if excluded from a participation in it. Madison, III, 107.

He differed from gentlemen who thought that a choice by the people wd. be a better guard ag<sup>st</sup> bad measures, than by the Legislatures. Madison, III, 107.

the revisionary power would not be exercised.

M<sup>r</sup> Mason. The purse & sword will be in the hands of the [executive, *struck out*] — legislature.

One great defect of our Governments are that they do not present objects sufficiently interesting to the human mind.

A reason for leaving little or nothing to the state legislatures will be that as their objects are diminished they will be worse composed. Proper men will be less inclined to participate in them.

The purse & the sword ought never to get into the same hands whether Legislative or Executive. Madison, III, 110.

June 7, 1787.

Dickinson. He would have the state legislatures elect senators, because he would bring into the general government the sense of the state Governments &

because the most respectable choices would be made.

M<sup>r</sup> Dickinson had two reasons for his motion. 1, because the sense of the States would be better collected through their Governments ; than immediately from the people at large ;

2. because he wished the Senate to consist of the most distinguished characters, . . . and he thought such characters more likely to be selected by the State Legislatures, than in any other mode. Madison, III, 112.

Note. Separate states may give stronger organs to their governments or engage more the good will of : — while Gen<sup>l</sup> Gov.

~~☞~~ Consider the Principle of Rivalship by excluding the state Legislatures.

M<sup>r</sup> Pinckney thought the 2<sup>d</sup> branch ought to be permanent & independent ; & that the members of it w<sup>d</sup> be rendered more so by receiving their appointment from the State Legislatures. This mode would avoid the rivalships & dis-

contents incident to the election by districts. Madison, III, 119.

Mason. General government could not know how to make laws for every part — such as respect agriculture, &c.

particular governments would have no *defensive* power unless let into the constitution as a Constituent part.

Mason It is impossible for one power to pervade the extreme parts of the U. S. so as to carry equal justice to them. Madison, III, 120.

The State Legislatures also ought to have some means of defending themselves ag<sup>st</sup> encroachments of the Nat<sup>l</sup> Gov<sup>t</sup>. . . And what better means can we provide than the giving them some share in, or rather to make them a constituent part of, the Nat<sup>l</sup> Establishment. Madison, III, 120.

June 8, 1787.

Pinckney. For general Negative.

He urged that such a universality of the power [to negative all laws judged improper] was indispensably necessary to render it effectual. Madison, III, 121.

Gerry. Is for negative on paper emissions.

He had no objection to authorize a negative to paper money and similar measures. Madison, III, 123.

New States will arise which cannot be controuled — & may outweigh & controll.

New States too having separate views from the old States will never come into the Union. They may even be under some foreign influence. Madison, III, 123.

Wilson. Foreign influence may infect certain corners of confederacy what ought to be restrained.

Union bases of our oppos. & Ind[ependence.]

Bedford. Arithmetical calculation of proportional influence in General Government.

Pensyl. & Delaware may have rivalship in commerce — & influence of Pens. sacrifice delaware.

In this case Delaware would have about  $\frac{1}{90}$  for its share in the General Councils, whilst Pa & Va would possess  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the whole. Is there no difference of interests, no rivalship of commerce, of manufac-

If there be a negative in G. G. yet if a law can pass through all the forms of S — C it will require force to abrogate it.

tures ? Will not these large States crush the small ones whenever they stand in the way of their ambitions or interested views. . . . If the State does not obey the law of the new System, must not force be resorted to as the only ultimate remedy. Madison, III, 125—6.

Butler. Will a man throw afloat his property & confide it to a government a thousand miles distant?

June 16, 1787.

M<sup>r</sup> Lansing. N[ew] S[ystem] proposes to draw representation from the whole body of people, without regard to S[tate] sovereignties.

Subs : proposes to preserve the State Sovereignties.

Powers. Different Legislatures had a different object.

Revise the confederation.

Ind. States cannot be supposed to be willing to annihilate the States.

State of New York would not have agreed to send members on this ground.

He was decidedly of opinion that the power of the Convention was restrained to amendments of a federal nature, and having for their basis the Confederacy in being.

N. York would never have concurred in sending deputies to the Convention, if she had supposed the deliberations were to turn on a consolidation of the States, and a National Government.

It is in vain to propose what will not accord with these [sentiments of people.]

In vain to devise systems however good which will not be adopted.

If convulsions happen nothing we can do will give them a direction.

Legislatures cannot be expected to make such a sacrifice.

The wisest men in forming a system from theory apt to be mistaken.

The present national government has no precedent or experience to support it.

General opinion that certain additional powers ought to be given to Congress.

M<sup>r</sup>. Patterson. 1. plan accords with powers.

2. plan accords with sentiments of the People.

If Confederation radically defec-tive we ought to return to our states and tell them so.

Comes not here to speak sentiments of his own but to speak the sense of his Constituents.

States treat[ed] as equal.

Present Compact gives one *vote* to each state.

Alterations are to be made by Congress and all the Legislatures.

All parties to a Contract must assent to its dissolution.

States collectively have advantages in which the smaller states do not participate — therefore individual rules do not apply.

Force of government will not depend on proportion of representation — but on

Quantity of power.

Check not necessary in a ge[n]eral government of communities — but

in an individual state spirit of faction is to be checked.

How have Congress hitherto conducted themselves?

The People approve of Congress but think they have not powers enough.

The Scheme is itself totally novel. There is no parallel to it to be found.

An augmentation of the powers of Congress will be readily approved by them. Madison, III, 171, 2.

He preferred it because it accorded 1. with the powers of the Convention, 2 with the sentiments of the people.

If the confederacy was radically wrong, let us return to our States, and obtain larger powers, not assume them ourselves.

I came here not to speak my own sentiments, but the sentiments of those who sent me.

5th. art: of confederation giving each State a vote.

13th. declaring that no alteration shall be made without unanimous consent.

What is unanimously done must be unanimously undone.

Its efficacy will depend on the quantum of power collected, not on its being drawn from the States, or from the individuals.

The reason of the precaution [a check] is not applicable to this case. Within a particular State, where party heats prevail, such a check may be necessary.

Do the people at large complain of Cong<sup>s</sup>? No, what they wish is that Cong<sup>s</sup> may have more power.

body constituted like Congress from the *fewness* of their numbers more wisdom and energy —

than the complicated system of Virginia.

Expence enormous.

180 commons, 90 senators, 270.

Wilson. Points of Disagreement.

Va. N. J.

1. 2 or three One branch.  
branches.
2. Derives author-  
ity from from States  
people.
3. Proportion of Equality.  
suffrage.
4. Single Executive. Plural.
5. Majority to gov- Minority to  
ern. govern.
6. Legislate in all Partial ob-  
matters of gen- jects.  
eral concern.
7. Negative. None.
8. Removeable by On applica-  
impeachment. tion of ma-  
jority of  
executives.
9. Qualified negative None.  
by Executive.
10. Inf[erior] tribunals. None.
11. Orig[inal] Jurisdic-  
tion in all cases None.  
of Nat: Rev.
12. National Gov- To be rati-  
ernment to fied by Leg-  
be ratified by islatures.  
People.

Empowered to propose every  
thing, to conclude nothing.

Does not think State govern-  
ments the idols of the people.

With proper powers Cong<sup>s</sup> will act with more energy & wisdom than the proposed Nat<sup>l</sup> Legislature; being fewer in number.

You have 270 coming once at least a year from the most distant as well as the most central parts of the republic . . . can so expensive a system be seriously thought of? Madison, III, 172–175.

See Madison III, 175, 176.

p. 176

p. 176

Thinks a competent national government will be a favorite of the people.

Complaints from every part of United States that the purposes of government cannot be answered.

In constituting a government not merely necessary to give proper powers, but to give them to proper hands.

Two reasons against giving additional powers to Congress.

First it does not stand on the authority of the people.

Second, It is a single branch.

Inequality, the poison of all governments.

Lord Chesterfield speaks of a Commission to be obtained for a member of a small province.

p. 177

Pinkney

Mr. Elsworth.

M<sup>r</sup>. Randolph. Spirit of the People in favour of the Virginia scheme.

We have powers; but if we had not we ought not to scruple.

M<sup>r</sup>. Randolph was not scrupulous on the point of power.

June 19, 1787.

Maddison. Breach of compact in one article releases the whole.

A breach of the fundamental principles of the compact by a part of the Society would certainly absolve the other part from their obligation to it. Madison III, 210.

Treaties may still be violated by the States under the Jersey plan.

The proposed amendment to it [Confederation] does not supply the omission. Madison, III, 212.

Appellate jurisdiction not sufficient because second trial cannot be had under it.

Of what avail <sup>c<sup>d</sup></sup> an appellate tribunal be, after an acquittal? Madison, III, 213.

Attempts made by one of the greatest monarchs of Europe to equalize the local peculiarities of the separate provinces — in which the agent fell a victim.

It had been found impossible for one of the most absolute princes in Europe (K. of France) directed by the wisdom of one of the most enlightened Ministers (M<sup>r</sup>. Neckar) &c. Madison, III, 219.

June 20, 1787.

M<sup>r</sup> Lansing. Resolved that the powers of legislation ought to be vested in the United States in Congress.

If our plan be not adopted it will produce those mischiefs which we are sent to obviate.

Principles of system.

Equality of Representation.

Dependence of members of Congress on States.

So long as state distinctions exist, state prejudices will operate whether election be by *states* or *people*.

If no interest to *oppress* no need of apportionment.

M<sup>r</sup> Lansing . . . moved . . . "that the powers of legislation be vested in the U. States in Congress." Madison, III, 227.

If it were true that such a uniformity of interests existed among the States, there was equal safety for all of them, whether the representation remained as heretofore, or were proportioned as now proposed. Madison, III, 228.

Virginia 16. Delaware 1.  
Will General Government have leisure to examine state laws?

Will G. Government have the necessary information?

Will states agree to surrender?  
Let us meet public opinion & hope the progress of sentiment will make future arrangements.

Is it conceivable that there will be leisure for such a task. Madison, III, 229.

Will the members of the General Legislature be competent judges? Madison, III, 229.

Would like my [Hamilton's] system if it could be established.

System without example.

M<sup>r</sup> Mason. Objection to granting power to Congress arose from their constitution.

*Sword and purse in one body.*

Two principles in which *America* are unanimous.

1. Attachment to Republican government.

2. Attachment to two branches of legislature.

Military *force* and *liberty* incompatible.

Will people maintain a standing army?

Will endeavour to preserve State governments & draw lines — trusting to posterity to amend.

M<sup>r</sup> Martin. General Government originally formed for the preservation of state governments.

Objection to giving power to Congress has originated with the legislatures.

so of the states interested in an equal voice.

Real motive was an opinion that there ought to be distinct governments & not a general government.

Is it to be thought that the people of America . . . will surrender both the sword and the purse to the same body? Madison, III, 231.

In two points he was sure it was well settled. 1. in an attachment to Republican government.

2. in an attachment to more than one branch in the legislature. *do.*

The most jarring elements of Nature . . . are not more incompatible than such a mixture of civil liberty and military execution. *do.* 232.

See Madison, III, 232, 233.

General Government was instituted for the purpose of that support [of State governments].

It was the Legislatures not the people who refused to enlarge their powers.

Otherwise ten of the States must always have been ready to place further confidence in Congress.

People of America preferred the establishment of themselves into 13 separate sovereignties instead of incorporating themselves into one.

If we should form a general government twould break to pieces.

For common safety instituted a General government.

Jealousy of power the motive.

People have delegated all their authority to State government.

Caution necessary to both systems.

Requisitions necessary upon one system as upon another.

In their *system* made requisitions necessary in the first instance but left Congress in the second instance to assess themselves.

Judicial tribunals in the different states would become odious.

If we always to make a change we shall be always in a state of infancy.

~~if~~ States will not be disposed hereafter to strengthen the general government.

M<sup>r</sup> Sherman. Confederacy carried us through the war.

Non compliances of states owing to various embarrassments.

Why should state legislatures be unfriendly?

State governments will always have the confidence & government of the people; if they cannot be conciliated no efficacious government can be established.

Sense of all states that one branch is sufficient.

If consolidated all treaties will be void.

Madison, III, 233, 234.

People of states having already tested their powers in their respective Legislatures &c.

. . . would be viewed with a jealousy inconsistent with its usefulness.

Congress carried us through the war.

Much might be said in apology for the failure . . . to comply with the confederation.

Saw no reason why the State Legislatures should be unfriendly.

In none of the ratifications is the want of two branches noticed or complained of.

To consolidate the States would dissolve our treaties.

State governments more fit for local legislation, customs, habits &c. Each State like each individual has its peculiar habits usages and manners. Madison, III, 235, 236.

Date unidentified.<sup>1</sup>

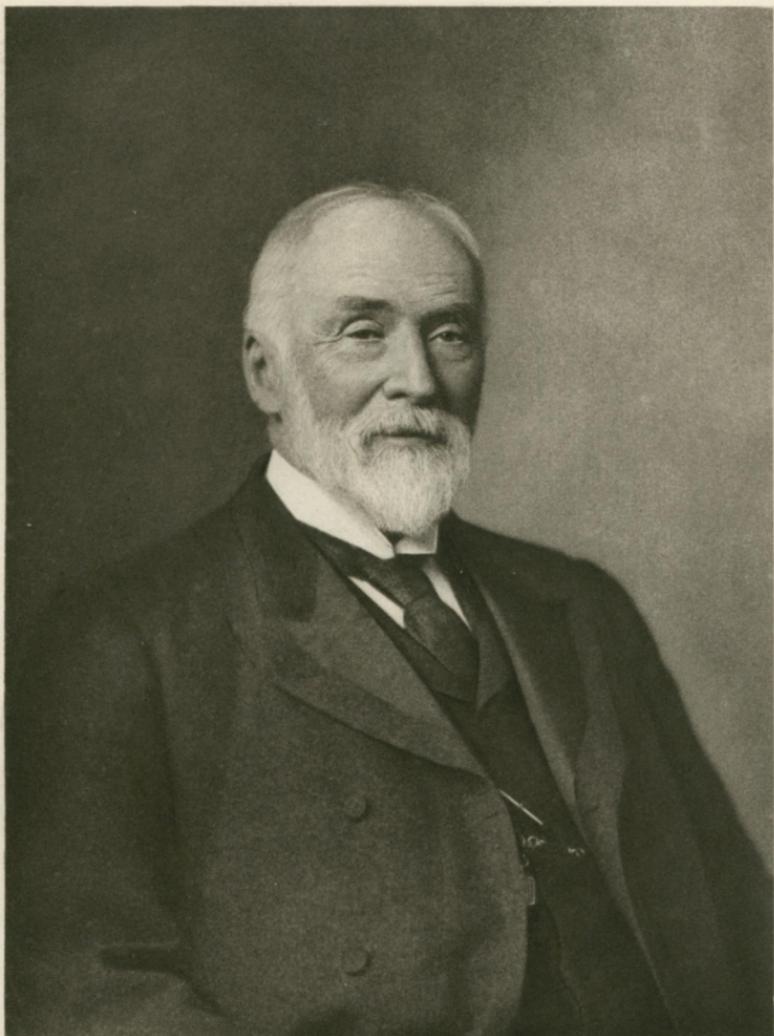
M<sup>r</sup> Pinckney. is of opinion that the first branch ought to be appointed in such manner as the legislatures shall direct.

Impracticable for general legislature to decide contested elections.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT and Messrs. SAMUEL A. GREEN, WILLIAM R. THAYER, WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, and others.

After the adjournment the members, with invited guests, were entertained at luncheon in the Ellis Hall by the President.

<sup>1</sup> On same sheet with the notes for June 19.



Photogravure:

John Andrew & Son

Edward L. Pierce

M E M O I R  
OF  
EDWARD L. PIERCE.  
BY JAMES FORD RHODES.

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EDWARD LILLIE PIERCE was born at Stoughton, Massachusetts, on March 29, 1829, and died in Paris on September 6, 1897. His ancestry was the sturdy Puritanical stock of the rural districts of New England. His father, Jesse Pierce, was a farmer, a schoolmaster, colonel of militia, and also served a number of terms in the lower branch of the Massachusetts Legislature. He was a good teacher and sympathetic father, and repaid his son Edward for the hard work he did during the day on the farm by systematic instruction in the evening. Edward had robust health and took kindly to this blending of physical and mental training. It was a wholesome bringing-up. In due time he was sent to the State Normal School at Bridgewater, where he was prepared for college, entering Brown University at the age of seventeen. He had the *cacoethes scribendi*, and during his college course wrote a number of magazine articles, three of which were printed in the "Democratic Review." After graduating from Brown he went to the Harvard Law School, and in 1852 took his degree of LL.B.

While still in college, his political life began by the formation of a life-long friendship with Charles Sumner and by his ardent espousal of the anti-slavery cause. As a boy of sixteen he had heard with admiration Sumner's Fourth of July address on the True Grandeur of Nations, and later had attended two lectures which were delivered in Providence. Eager to make the acquaintance of the speaker he so revered, he sent to him with a letter one of his magazine articles, which brought from Sumner an invitation to call upon him, and this Pierce availed himself of many times during his frequent visits to Boston ; he

also wrote to Sumner on other occasions for advice, which was freely given. On a certain day in 1850 Edward Pierce made this entry in his journal : "I have read the Fugitive Slave bill to-day, and it is outrageous. I stand ready to defy it and to give succor to the fugitive." His warm friendship with Sumner and his desire for the freedom of the slaves were the most important influences on his career. He also fell under the sway of Salmon P. Chase. Introduced to him by Sumner, he was for a while in his law office in Cincinnati, and afterwards became the private secretary of the Senator in Washington ; but in 1855 he returned to Boston.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Edward Pierce went to the front as a three months' volunteer with the Massachusetts Third, and at Fort Monroe was placed by General Butler in charge of the "contraband" negroes who were working on the entrenchments. He wrote an interesting account of his experience for the "Atlantic Monthly" (November, 1861), and when his term of enlistment expired, he was sent by Secretary Chase to Port Royal, South Carolina, to superintend the raising of cotton by the freedmen. His interest in this matter was great, and he was fond in after life of referring to his experience during the first two years of the war. His sympathy with the negro never ceased. "Did you know," he wrote to me, February 8, 1895, "a *negro* college gave me LL.D. last summer? You would not value that, but I value it more than the one given me by Brown University. It was from Claflin University, Orangeburg, South Carolina, where Keitt lived."

In 1863 he was appointed by President Lincoln Collector of Internal Revenue in Boston. From 1866 to 1870 he was District Attorney of Norfolk and Plymouth counties ; from 1870 to 1874, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities. In 1875 and 1876 he was a member of the House of Representatives of his Commonwealth, and he also represented the town of Milton in that body at the time of his death. In common with many Republicans he was defeated for Congress in 1890. Edward Pierce loved political life, and it was a pity for the community that he was not more frequently called into the service of his State or nation. He published a law book in 1857, another in 1874, and still another in 1881. He was made a member of this Society in March, 1893, and served on the Council from 1895 to 1897. In 1895 he edited the Diary

of John Rowe. He read with great effect, at our March meeting in 1896, a very interesting paper on Recollections as a Source of History. This and some other articles he published in a book of addresses and essays in 1896.

His most memorable literary work was the Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner, the last two volumes of which were published in 1893. This work is his title to fame. When one says that the biography is written by an ardent friend and hero worshipper, one has uttered the only criticism that is likely to be made of it. It is almost always accurate, it is in the main impartial. A positive man, as was Edward Pierce, would certainly express his opinions, but he covers up nothing, and whenever he is an advocate or partisan he is an honest one. In parts of his book he shows a fine reserve. Even a conservative acquaintance thought him too moderate in treating the Brooks assault. But, said Pierce, in a private letter, "he is mistaken. The true way was to set forth all the facts clearly which had not been done before and to leave them there without epithet or display of temper." Pierce, like Sumner, never exhibited any vindictiveness to Brooks, although he had, as an impressionable young man, a vivid sense of the injury done to his hero. In September, 1856, he dined and took tea in company with Sumner at the house of a common friend in Philadelphia, writing thus in his diary: "Sumner looks as well as ever, and his appetite and digestion are good. But his step is still very measured, and he has had wakeful nights. He says he shall recover. . . . I fear he may have a spinal affection." On one of his many journeys Pierce, if I remember correctly, visited the grave of Preston Brooks in South Carolina.

His attitude towards Sumner is well exhibited in an exclamation in a private letter: "What slippery fellows public men are! Sumner is the only one on whom you could put your finger and always find him there — never double or misleading." I do not remember that Pierce points out in his book how much easier it is for a public man who has devoted himself almost exclusively to a moral cause to be consistent than it is for a party leader or a constructive statesman. But such an omission in the book cannot be accounted a defect.

Pierce's idea of the work of an historian or a biographer is well stated in another private letter. To read "newspapers,

pamphlets, books, official reports, etc.,” he wrote, “is a dreary work, tasking nerves and eyes, but it richly repays in the finished result. I have little respect for genius except in science, but I have profound respect for honest, painstaking industry in everything, be it history, biography, or travels. The men who declined to write Sumner’s memoir would have beaten me in fine English, but I feel that I have matched them by patience and toil.” In the preparation of the Memoir of Sumner Pierce read forty thousand letters (I believe); he did all his work himself, having no assistants of any kind. His book is more than a biography. It is a history of many phases of the time. It is by no means written alone from his wealth of manuscript material. He compassed also much of the printed matter. He knew thoroughly the fifteen volumes of Sumner’s Works. He was well read in the Congressional Globe and in the newspapers of the day, and he had a knack at going to the bottom of things which renders his notes of great value to the historical student. With the general histories and biographies he was of course acquainted. The book is a valuable contribution to American history, and Charles Sumner was fortunate in his biographer.

Pierce’s knowledge of men and affairs enabled him to use his literary materials in a masterly way. From an early age he sought the company of distinguished men, whom he studied as well as books. Here is an entry in his diary for September, 1856: “In New York I was introduced by John Bigelow to Colonel Frémont, the Republican candidate for President. During our interview a delegation of orthodox clergymen waited upon him to satisfy themselves of the falsity of the rumor that he is a Catholic. He is a thin, spare man, but compact and sinewy. His conversation is easy and positive. He appears to be an honest man.” Pierce took great joy in travel and was constantly going about. He went to Europe seventeen or eighteen times, I believe. He went into society a good deal in England, and at one time saw much of John Bright and John Morley, his admiration for Bright being great. The Athenæum Club he used to say was a home. Here is an account he wrote to me dated at the Athenæum, August 27, 1893: “I lunched with Joseph Chamberlain last week. His young Salem wife calls him ‘Joe.’ At the table were also his daughter and his son, an M. P., who is a Unionist whip. On

Friday night I was in the House and heard all the leaders, Gladstone, Morley, Chamberlain, Goschen, Balfour, Sir H. James, J. Bryce, but it was hardly a great debate, though it was the night the bill passed. It concerned details rather than principles." Enoch, his dragoman at Cairo, used to say that when Mr. Pierce was stopping at Shepheard's Hotel he lost no opportunity of becoming acquainted with distinguished men, even introducing himself when no other opportunity offered. He told Enoch he considered it a duty to so employ his time. He would go out of his way to visit American public men. He once passed the larger part of two days with Fessenden (the summer of 1864) when the Maine Senator and Sumner were not on the best of terms. He says in his book that both these Senators were "important to the public service" and were "of equal integrity and patriotism" (vol. iv. p. 190). He knew Trumbull well, and never lost his respect for him, although he deprecated his cheap money and labor ideas of later days. In a review of John Sherman's Recollections in the "American Historical Review" he put on record his appreciation of the services of the hard-working Ohio Senator, and was very desirous of making his personal acquaintance. From the lips of Sumner and Chase he heard much history; from his friendship with Senator Hoar the continuity of historical tradition was maintained.

Places as well as people interested this many-sided man. In October, 1893, he wrote to me from Italy: "Two weeks ago I was at Vallombrosa. You recall Milton's line 'thick as [autumnal] leaves in Vallombrosa.' I found less than I have in my garden in November. I walked under the dense shade of the pines, but did not ascend to the line where the chestnuts begin. It is on a high hill or mountain, not in a valley, as I supposed." I must add what follows as illustrating a previous remark: "I had an interview with old Kossuth, October 3, at Turin. His mind is as clear as ever—and just think of it—he is 91." In the following February he wrote to me: "Rome is of course always interesting, and excavations have opened much in the last twenty-five years. But I think the fascination is much less with the tourists of to-day than with the old travellers like Goethe or Americans like Sumner and Hillard, who came in the thirties and forties, who entered by diligence and threaded its narrow streets. Everywhere are wide

boulevards and grand hotels. A horde of tourists, mostly ignorant, largely old maids, widows, and wandering girls, aimless, pretending, perhaps, to care for art but caring mostly for spectacles, dances, drives, and flirting,—such as these abound. The Rome that once was which scholars entered with reverential awe has gone forever, and in its place is a modern Paris still rich in art and in landscapes, where present life so oppresses you that it is impossible to revive the past as one could a half-century and century ago."

Pierce's radical views and pronounced opinions did not prevent his loving fairness and justice. A paragraph in one of his letters to me (October 22, 1893) produced on me a profound impression: "I wrote Professor Shaler some months ago," he said, "(never having yet seen him) suggesting that he or Professor Gildersleeve take up the treatment of our soldiers in Southern prisons, and show that it was not what the statements of our historians and government make it to have been, saying that it was very important for the good name of the Southern people that it should be done. The professor replied courteously, but said I had better do it! Of course it was not my field, but for the honor of human nature I wish such a vindication if possible should be made."

My friendship with Edward L. Pierce began in 1893, and continued up to the time of his death. When we were both at home, we saw much of each other. He was accustomed often to drop in to luncheon, and not infrequently passed a night with us in town or in the country. He was ever the genial, kindly-disposed, unselfish man. He was an intelligent talker, and the conversation was apt to run on his different experiences with men. He was decidedly an interesting man. Apt to be egotistical, he never displayed conceit and never bored you. I saw much of him in company with General J. D. Cox, Justin Winsor, and George H. Monroe, all deceased members of this Society, and with them he was sympathetic, expansive, and humorous, showing a wide knowledge of American history and politics. He used to say with a twinkle in his eye that he never talked history except with us. Certainly I have never heard many men talk better than he did on those occasions.

In this paper I have emphasized Edward Pierce's geniality, fairness, and toleration. I have been told frequently that

there was another side, less lovely, to his character. In social intercourse I never saw that side, and only once on a public occasion. I have presented him as he appeared to me, and if the presentation be not accurate as a whole picture, it is a faithful portrayal of the side which I saw. I rate him a splendid type of a Massachusetts man and an American.

His devotion to this Society was marked. Longing for admittance to it for many years and feeling keenly the lack of appreciation or the slight which prevented his election for so long a time, he accepted the membership when it came with gratitude. He counted it a great honor to belong to the Society, and believed too that duty went with honor. He was a diligent member. Always present when possible at the meetings, he looked forward to them with pleasure and discoursed of the past proceedings with interest. It will be recalled that his death and that of Mr. Winsor were commemorated at two successive meetings [October and November, 1897]. I remember a remark of our President, "Their loss to the Society is almost irreparable."